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## RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE CLASSICS

(Especially in the Loeb Classical Library)

(Continued from pages 147, 154)

Another addition to the Loeb Classical Library is the translation of the *Odyssey*, I-XII, by Professor A. T. Murray, of Stanford University. In his Introduction (x), Professor Murray writes thus:

. . . while much of modern Homeric criticism has been analytic and destructive, in many important respects recent studies have shown that both the methods and the results of destructive criticism are misleading, and have given stronger and more convincing grounds for a belief in the essential integrity of both poems, each as the work of one supreme artist.

One more quotation from the Introduction (xi) may be given:

The aim of the translator has been to give a faithful rendering of the *Odyssey* that preserves in so far as possible certain traits of the style of the original. Such a rendering should be smooth and flowing and should be given in elevated but not in stilted language. In particular the recurrent lines and phrases which are so noticeable in the original should be preserved. Hence even when in a given context a varying phrase would seem preferable, the translator has felt bound to use the traditional formula. This has in some instances necessitated the use of a more or less colourless phrase, adapted to various contexts.

By way of a specimen, I give Professor Murray's translation of 1.1-10, and of 6.99-109:

Tell me, O Muse, of the man of many devices, who wandered full many ways after he had sacked the sacred citadel of Troy. Many were the men whose cities he saw and whose mind he learned, aye, and many the woes he suffered in his heart upon the sea, seeking to win his own life and the return of his comrades. Yet even so he saved not his comrades, though he desired it sore, for through their own blind folly they perished—fools, who devoured the kine of Helios Hyperion; but he took from them the day of their returning. Of these things, goddess, daughter of Zeus, beginning where thou wilt, tell thou even unto us.

Then when they had had their joy of food, she and her handmaids, they threw off their head-gear and fell to playing at ball, and white-armed Nausicaa was leader in the song. And even as Artemis, the archer, roves over the mountains, along the ridges of lofty Taygetus or Erymanthus, joying in the pursuit of boars and swift deer, and with her sport the wood-nymphs, the daughters of Zeus who bears the aegis, and Leto is glad at heart—high above them all Artemis holds her head and brows, and easily may she be known, though all are fair—so amid her handmaidens shone the maid unwed.

It will be interesting to compare this translation with that by Butcher and Lang, or that by Professor George

Herbert Palmer, of Harvard University (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1891).

In the *Stratford Journal*, a periodical described on its cover as a "Forum of Contemporary International Thought", 1.63-108 (September-December, 1917), there was published a translation, in verse, of the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, by Mr. Henry T. Schnittkind, one of the editors of the *Journal*. Sometimes the translation pleases me much; sometimes it displeases me equally. Perhaps the following quotations will give a fair view at once of its merits and its demerits (see *Most.* 157-173, 313-335):

*Philem.* I've never yet been laved in such delight;  
No water is more cool or crystal bright.

*Sc.* There's not a thing but proper harvest yields;  
And as we sow, thus reap we in the fields.

*Philem.* What has my bath, or I, with this to do?

*Sc.* No more than this has with your bath or you.

*Philol.* [aside] O, lovely love, this is my whirling wind  
That stripped me of my will and maimed my mind.  
A flood of passions poured into my breast,  
And now I have no shelter and no rest:  
Within my heart a-rotting are the walls,  
And all my shattered frame in ruin falls.

*Philem.* Does this become me? for I wish to please  
My patron and my love, Philolaches.

*Sc.* 'Tis not the dress that lovers love the best,  
But comely maids in comely manners dressed.

*Philol.* [aside] Upon my word, the jade is very witty;  
Her lovers' saws and maxims are quite pretty.

*Philem.* I say, my Scapha.

*Sc.*

Well?

*Philem.* Prithce, look here,

And tell me if this dress becomes me, dear.

*Sc.* Yourself, my charming mistress, are so fair,  
That you look well in any dress you wear.

*Cal.* 'Tis meet that I meet  
My friend for the treat  
And the banquet and revels and joys;  
So away then I slipped,  
From the others I skipped,  
For their gossip most always annoys.  
But pray, now, look here,  
And answer me, dear  
Do I seem to be du-du-du-drunk?

*Del.* You look just as good  
As ever you should;

You seem to be all full of spunk.

*Cal.* Do you want me to squeeze you?

*Del.* Why sure, if it please you.

*Cal.* Oh, thank you; now pray, lead the way.

*Del.* Don't fall now, my lovey.

*Cal.* My sweet do-do-dovey,

You will keep me from going astray.

But please let me fall

*Del.* I don't mind at all.

*Cal.* [Grasping her] But whatever I hold must fall, too.

*Del.* My darling, my own,  
'Twon't befall you alone,  
For if you fall, then I'll follow you.

*Cal.* And some passer-by

*Del.* Will come, as welie,

*Both.* And lift us, my bubby, my sweet.

*Cal.* But where do we go?

Oh, surely you know,

To my home for a right royal treat.

*Del.* But where do we go?

Oh, surely you know,

To your home for a right royal treat.

In the Loeb Classical Library has appeared a translation of Thucydides, 1-2, by Professor Charles Forster Smith, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, well known, by his editions of various books of Thucydides, and by his articles, e. g. in *The Transactions of the American Philological Association*, for his studies in Thucydides. The Introduction (vii-xix) deals with Thucydides's life and his great work. On pages xiii-xv Professor Smith declines to accept the view of F. W. Ulrich, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thucydides*, that Books 1-5.26 formed a separate treatise which was composed between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition, and then published. He is willing to admit that 1-5.26, the account of the Archidamian War, was quite likely composed mainly in the interval between 421 and 416 B. C.,

but that it received important additions after the fall of Athens seems certain, e. g. II. lxx on the career of Pericles. So much may well be admitted for Ulrich's hypothesis, but it is not necessary to admit more.

In an article entitled *The Book Divisions of Thucydides*, in *Classical Philology* 15.73-82 (January, 1920), Professor Robert J. Bonner, of the University of Chicago, also discusses this matter (80-82), independently (Professor Smith's translation had not appeared when this paper was written and set up in type). He, too, refuses to regard 1-5.26 as a distinct entity, separately published. It may be remarked that Professor Smith regards as "reasonable" the view set forth by Classen, in the Introduction to his edition of Book 5, as to the growth of Thucydides's history under its author's hands.

As a specimen of Professor Smith's translation I give his rendering of 2.37 (part of the famous funeral speech of Pericles):

We live under a form of government which does not emulate the institutions of our neighbours; on the contrary, we are ourselves a model which some follow, rather than the imitators of other peoples. It is true that our government is called a democracy, because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many; yet while as regards the law all men are on an equality for the settlement of their private disputes, as regards the value set on them it is as each man is in any way distinguished that he is preferred to public honours, not because he belongs to a particular class, but because of personal merits; nor, again, on the ground of poverty is a man barred from a public career by obscurity of rank if he but has it in him to do the state

a service. And not only in our public life are we liberal, but also as regards our freedom from suspicion of one another in the pursuits of every-day life; for we do not feel resentment at our neighbour if he does as he likes, nor yet do we put on sour looks which, though harmless, are painful to behold. But while we thus avoid giving offence in our private intercourse, in our public life we are restrained from lawlessness chiefly through reverent fear, for we render obedience to those in authority and to the laws, and especially to those laws which are ordained for the succour of the oppressed and those which, though unwritten, bring upon the transgressor a disgrace which all men recognize. C. K.

(To be concluded)

### A ROMAN 'HALL OF FAME'

In his Odes, 4.8, Horace tells his friend, Censorinus, that he would gladly follow the fashion and make him a present of some goblet or bronze or other work of art, were he himself a rich man and his friend in need of such curios. But he knows that Censorinus is fond of poetry, and poetry is just what Horace can give. He then proceeds to set forth the value of poetry, in verses which have brought down upon themselves a greater storm of criticism than any other portion of the text of Horace (13-24):

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,  
per quae spiritus et vita redivit bonis  
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae  
relictæque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,  
non incendia Karthaginis inopiae  
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa  
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant  
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides, neque,  
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,  
mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ  
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas  
obstaret meritis invida Romuli?

Nearly all editors from Bentley<sup>2</sup> on have objected that Horace knew Roman history too well to confuse the

<sup>1</sup>This paper, if its main positions are well taken, is of prime interest to students and teachers of Vergil as well as to devotees of Horace. C. K.

<sup>2</sup>"In quibus horribilis sane hallucinatio est quae vix in ullum hominem de media plebe cadere potuit. Primo enim *Hannibalis fugam et Carthaginis incendium* uni et eidem Scipioni ascribit. Atqui Hannibalem ex Italia retraxit P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio anno A. U. C. DL < B. C. 203 >; idemque diem suum obiit circa annum A. U. C. DLXVI < B. C. 187 >. Carthaginem vero incendit P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, filius quidem L. Paulli Aemilii, nepos vero superioris Scipionis adoptivus, A. U. C. DCVII < B. C. 146 >, plus annis XL ab alterius obitu. Deinde Ennius innuit in poemate suo Carthaginis incendium attigisse; cum Ennius A. U. C. DLXXXIV < B. C. 169 > mortuus sit, neque Annales suos ultra annum A. U. C. DLXVII < B. C. 186 > deduxerit. Quid cum illo facias, qui talia portenta admittit; qui avum a nepote, Punicum bellum secundum a tertio nescit distinguere; qui dimidii saeculi intervallum susque deque habet? . . . Quid enim? an ille < = Horatius >, re fere recente, tum id ignoraverit, quod hodie decimo et septimo post saeculo pueri decennes sciunt? Fidem hominum appellamus: apage tam vesanam suspicionem: numquam hoc, O Flacce, de te credemus. . . . Quid enim vultis, o boni? Nullumne habuit amicorum (recitare enim iis sua omnia ante editionem solebat) qui tam conspicuum errorem tollere posset aut vellet? qui tam reconditum arcanum proderet, duos fuisse Scipiones, cognomine Africanos? O rem ridiculam! . . . Ego vero cum prisco Catone *Carthaginem delendam esse* censeo; et, spurio illo versu abolito, sic ceteros continuandos esse,

non celeres fugae  
relictæque retrorsum Hannibalis minae  
eius qui domita nomen ab Africa.

Agnosco enim versum Monachalis plane ingenii et coloris".—A discussion of the neglected caesura in 17 follows.

Elder Scipio (15-16), who drove Hannibal from Italy, with the Younger Scipio (17), who destroyed Carthage, as Horace indeed seems to do, if 17 be retained. Neither, they say, would he make Ennius, who died B.C. 169, sing of the destruction of Carthage in B.C. 146, more than 20 years after his death. Lachmann, not content with rejecting 17, bracketed as spurious all between *post mortem ducibus* and *clarius indicant*.

The thought produced by this surgery is not bad; in fact, it is just what Horace ought to say<sup>3</sup>:

'Public inscriptions on marble statues, by which a semblance of life is restored to great leaders, do not proclaim their praises more clearly than do the Muses'.

But Porphyrio (third century A.D.) read verses 14, 17, 18; hence, if they were smuggled into the text, the padding took place very early, too early for Bentley's monk. Other editors have decided that the entire Ode is spurious; it notoriously violates the so-called Lex Meinickiana, according to which all the Odes of Horace are divisible in the number of their verses evenly by the number four. Professor Postgate bracketed it in his *Corpus* and Professor M. L. Earle condemned it in toto, largely on aesthetic grounds (*Revue de Philologie* 29 [1905], 306). Lucian Müller (1900), as well as the former Teubner edition, by Friedrich Vollmer (1907), followed Lachmann, but, in the new Teubner edition (1912), Vollmer removes all the daggers and brackets and once more accepts the text in its entirety.

To understand what considerations led Vollmer to restore the Ode, which he prints with quotation marks around portions of 15-17, we must go back to the year B.C. 42. In that year, at the battle of Philippi, Octavianus Caesar made a vow that he would build to Mars the Avenger a temple greater and more beautiful than any which the God of War possessed, on the condition that Mars favor his side and help him avenge his father's murder by granting him victory over Brutus and the Liberatores. The scene is dramatically set before us by Ovid, *Fasti* 5.571-578:

Ille manus tendens, hinc stanti milite iusto,  
hinc coniuratis, talia dicta dedit:  
"Si mihi bellandi pater est Vestaque sacerdos  
auctor, et ulcisci numen utrumque paro,  
Mars, ades, et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum,  
stetque favor causa pro meliore tuus.  
Templa feres et me victore vocaberis Ultor".  
Voverat, et fuso lactus ab hoste redit.

The fact is related by Suetonius also, Aug. 29: Aedem Martis, bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto, voverat.

The vow remained for a long time unfulfilled, partly because the young Princeps was busy with more pressing matters, and partly, doubtless, because it was poor policy for the new régime, even after Actium, to affront the partisans of the old Republican order too openly by

erecting a temple which would remind them of their defeat at Philippi. But later, when Augustus was occupied with those great public works by reason of which he could boast *Romam marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset*, he remembered his vow and decided to build a new Forum adjoining and to the East of that which Julius Caesar had built, and therein to erect the temple to Mars Ultor. The immediate reason for the opening up of a new Forum was that both the old Forum Romanum and the Forum Julium had become too cramped to accommodate the ever-increasing business of the courts, as we learn from the following passage in Suetonius (Aug. 29):

Fori exstruendi causa fuit hominum et iudiciorum multitudo, quae videbatur non sufficientibus duobus etiam tertio indigere; itaque festinantius necdum perfecta Martis aede publicatum est.

That is, the Forum was opened for public business rather hurriedly, before the Temple was completed.

At the further or Northeastern end of the Forum Augustum stood the Temple, in front of which the Forum extended as a quadrangle toward the Forum Julium and the Temple of Venus Genetrix; extending to the right and the left of the Temple and partly enclosing the Forum were two semicircular *exedrae* with solid back-walls of masonry over 100 feet in height; in front of each *exedra* along the bow of the arc was a row of columns connected the one with the other by suitable entablature; the space between the row of columns and the curving wall of the *exedra* could be temporarily (or possibly was permanently) covered over, to provide protection against the weather for the sitting of the courts; the *exedrae* were continued in the form of *porticus* down either side of the Forum toward the Forum Julium. As this portion of the Forum has not yet been uncovered, it is impossible to say how far these *porticus* extended, or what their arrangement was<sup>4</sup>.

In the walls of the *exedrae* were niches, seven on either side of the large central niche of each *exedra*, making 28 in all, to which should be added probably four in the rear wall on either side of the Temple, a total of 36. In these niches of the *exedrae* and along the *porticus* Augustus caused to be placed statues of bronze (according to Dio Cassius 55.10.8), of marble (according to Lampridius, Alexander Severus 28.6: exemplo Augusti qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo e marmore collocavit additis gestis), representing the great military leaders of Rome, each adorned with the insignia of his triumph. The series began with Aeneas, included the mythical ancestors of the Julian line, probably the early Alban kings, then Romulus, followed by the warriors of the Republic down to L. Licinius Lucullus. Beneath each statue inscribed tablets were affixed, setting forth the *cursus honorum* of the hero and recounting in few words the story of his life and deeds. Such inscriptions, *tituli*, of a type between the sepulchral

<sup>3</sup>He does say it in Epp. 2.1.248 (written at about the same time as our Ode) when he compares Vergil's poetry with the statues of Lysippus:

nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa  
quam per valis opus mores animique virorum  
clarorum adparent.

<sup>4</sup>See Huelsen, *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 6 (1891), 94, from which the account in C. I. L. 1<sup>2</sup>, page 186 is written.

and the honorary, have received the technical name of *elogia*. Compare Suetonius, Aug. 31:

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque Fori sui porticu dedicavit.

Ovid, Fasti 5.549-568, on the occasion of the Ludi Martiales (May 12), pictures the god Mars coming to take part in the festival and to inspect the great Temple erected in his honor; he sees strange weapons from many lands; he sees Aeneas, the long line of the Julian ancestry, and Romulus returning with the first *spolia opima*, and underneath each statue in the series the *elogium* setting forth the famous deeds of the hero it represents:

Fallor, an arma sonant? non fallimur, arma sonabant:

Mars venit et veniens bellica signa dedit;

Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores

templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro.

Et deus est ingens et opus. Debebat in urbe

non aliter nati Mars habitare sui.

Digna Giganteis haec sunt delubra tropaeis;

hinc fera Gradivum bella movere decet;

seu quis ab Eoo nos impius orbe lacesset,

seu quis ab occiduo sole, domandus erit.

Prosperit armipotens operis fastigia summi,

et probat invictos summa tenere deos.

Perspicit in foribus diversae tela figurae,

armaque terrarum milite victa suo.

Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro

et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos;

hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,

claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.

Spectat et Augusto praetextum nomine templum,

et visum lecto Caesare maius opus.

In Juvenal's time a visit to the Forum Augustum, with its ivory statue of Apollo, who presided over the courts of justice, and the triumphal statues of the generals, among whom even the less worthy had gained admission, formed a part of the daily routine (I.127-130):

Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:

sportula, deinde Forum iurisque peritus Apollo,

atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere

nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches.

We do not know at what time the work on the Forum began or how soon the *porticus* and the *exedrae* were in place, but, from a punning remark which Augustus made about it, we know that the architect was extremely slow in bringing the work to completion.

Compare Macrobius, Saturnalia 2.4:

Cum multi Severo Cassio accusante absolverentur, et architectus Fori Augusti expectationem operis diu traheret, ita iocatus est <Augustus>: "Vellem Cassius et meum forum accuset"<sup>1</sup>.

Suetonius enumerates three public works of Augustus (Aug. 29):

Publica opera plurima exstruxit, e quibus vel praecipua Forum cum aede Martis Ultoris, Templum Apollinis in Palatio, Aedem Tonantis Iovis in Capitolio.

Of these the Temple of Apollo was dedicated in B.C. 28, that of Jupiter Tonans in 22, and that of Mars Ultor in

B. C. 2. Yet we shall not be wrong in assuming that the work on the Forum was planned and started during those years of temple building which followed Actium. And, inasmuch as the need for room for the courts was the moving cause for the new Forum, and that room was furnished by the covered *porticus* and *exedrae*, and as these portions were structurally a part of the bounding-wall of the whole work, we shall probably be right in assuming that these portions were the first to be finished and were opened for public use some time (*festinantius*) before the Temple and Forum together could be dedicated. This argument as to the possible date of the Forum is of importance in connection with the literary criticism to which I shall presently come.

The date of the dedication was August 1, 2 B.C. The day—the Kalends of August—is given us by Dio Cassius (60.5), and the year by Velleius Paterculus 2.100:

At in urbe eo ipso anno, quo magnificentissimis gladiatorii muneris naumachiaeque spectaculis divus Augustus, (abhinc XXX annos) se et Gallo Caninio consulibus dedicato Martis templo, animos oculosque populi Romani repleverat. . . .

Now, Caninius was consul with Augustus during the second semester only of this year B.C. 2, which also shows that, of the two dates possible for the dedication, on which games in honor of Mars were held, namely, May 12 and the Kalends of August, the latter is preferable. Velleius then goes on to describe the banishment of Julia, which occurred in the same year. It is also a curious fact that Ovid, in his *Ars Amatoria*, which appeared in this very year of Julia's banishment, alludes to the dedication not in the solemn and religious style in which Vergil or Horace celebrates the acts of Augustus, but as a unique opportunity for love adventures and intrigues.

When completed, the great Temple itself, the Forum with its equestrian statue of Augustus and ivory statue of Apollo, the *porticus* surrounding the Forum, which were adorned with paintings and the triumphal statues, must have been one of the most impressive sights of the capital. Pliny, N. H. 36.102, declares that this Forum together with the (later) Temple of Peace in the Forum of Vespasian were the two most beautiful works in existence. Within the Temple a statue of Venus was associated with that of Mars (Ovid, *Tristia* 2.295-296):

Venerit in magni templum, tua munera, Martis,  
stat Venus Ultori iuncta. . . .

Two paintings by Apelles, made for Alexander the Great, adorned the most frequented part of the Forum, probably in some protected part of the *porticus*, that on the left representing War, that on the right Victory, both with portraits of Alexander. Compare Pliny, N. H. 35.27 and 35.93:

Super omnes divus Augustus in Foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum. . . . <Apelles> pinxit Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro Magno, item Belli imaginem, restrictis ad terga manibus, Alexandro in curru triumphante, quas utras-

<sup>1</sup>absolvere = (1) 'to acquit'; (2) 'to complete'.

que tabulas divus Augustus in Fori sui partibus celeberrimis dicaverat.

From the latter painting Servius, on Aen. 1.294, thinks that Vergil derived his picture of the War-fury<sup>6</sup>:

In Foro Augusto introeuntibus ad sinistram fuit Bellum pictum et Furor sedens super arma devinctus eo habitu quo poeta dixit.

It is quite likely that this picture was already in its place in the Forum in time for Vergil to see it and draw his description from it, that is before B.C. 19. If so, this would strengthen our argument concerning the date of the partial completion of the Forum.

It was evidently the purpose of Augustus to make of this Temple and Forum a shrine and embodiment of those many lines of effort which he was putting forth to reform and to rehabilitate the Roman State. The statues recalled not only the semimythical founders of Rome and supported the fiction of the gens Julia, but also portrayed the spirit of the glorious Republican past, as exhibited in its great military leaders, especially those who had gained the *spolia opima*, celebrated triumphs, carried foreign wars to a successful conclusion, or otherwise had contributed to make the power of Rome coextensive with the limits of the world. The Temple emphasized the military successes which Rome had gained under Mars, and, after the standards which had been regained from the Parthians had been transferred thither from their temporary resting-place on the Capitol, it combined in itself the two-fold revenge (*bis ultus*) which Mars had bestowed, on Augustus for his private wrongs, on the Roman people for their public disgraces. Special privileges were granted to this Temple by Augustus; it was to be a center about which military events should revolve; here the Senate was to consult on questions of war and the granting of triumphs; hence the provincial officials were to set out *cum imperio*; and hither finally as victors they were to return and deposit their arms and trophies. Compare Suetonius, Aug. 29:

Aedem Martis bello Philippensi pro ultione paterna suscepto voverat; sanxit ergo ut de bellis triumphisque hic consuleret senatus, provincias cum imperio petitori hinc deducerentur, quique victores redissent huc insignia triumphorum conferrent.

Augustus himself, when in his old age he is recounting for the benefit of posterity the outstanding events of his long administration, says (Monumentum Ancyranum 21): in privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manubiis feci. He means that he purchased the ground and built the Temple from the spoils of the war against Brutus. Compare also Monumentum Ancyranum 29:

Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi. Ea autem signa in penetrati quod est in templo Martis Ultoris reposui.

Of the statues themselves which stood in the Forum

no fragments have survived, but we can get some idea of the manner in which they were conceived and executed from the account given by Aulus Gellius, 9.11, of that of M. Valerius Corvinus. After telling the well-known story of the victory won by Valerius over a Gaul by the aid of a crow, he says:

Statuam Corvino isti divus Augustus in Foro suo statuendam curavit. In eius statuæ capite corvi simulacrum est rei pugnaeque quam diximus monumentum.

Of the *tituli* formerly affixed to the bases of the statues only small broken bits have been recovered from Rome itself, but it was the custom to make copies of these inscriptions and to distribute them among the towns of Italy. Seven of these copies have been found in Arretium, others in Lavinium and Pompeii. By putting together all the evidence, literary and epigraphic, we can be sure that the following twenty statues at least stood in the Forum. As there were niches for 36 in the *exedrae* and rear wall, and no one knows for how many more along the extended *porticus*, this list must be far from complete (C. I. L. 1<sup>2</sup>, page 188):

- Aeneas
- Lavinia
- Silvius Aeneas
- Romulus
- M. Valerius Maximus (dict. 494)
- M. Furius Camillus (mil. trib. 401)
- L. Albinus (?)
- M. Valerius Corvinus (cos. 348)
- L. Papirius Cursor (dict. 325)
- Ap. Claudius Caecus (cos. 307)
- C. Duilius (260)
- Q. Fabius Maximus (233)
- L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (190), brother of Africanus Maior
- L. Aemilius Paulus (182)
- Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (177), father of the tribunes
- P. Scipio Aemilianus (147) Africanus Minor
- Q. Caecilius Metellus (109) Numidicus
- C. Marius (107)
- L. Cornelius Sulla (88)
- L. Licinius Lucullus (74)

These *elogia* are to be found in C. I. L. 1<sup>2</sup>, pages 188-196, and those from Arretium are also reproduced in the new work, Introduction to Latin Epigraphy (1919), by Sir John Edwin Sandys, the well-known author of the History of Classical Scholarship and the editor of the Companion to Latin Studies. On account of the style in which these *elogia* were composed and their bearing upon the literary questions to be discussed hereafter I give here the following samples, which are also of literary and historical interest in connection with the work of the Secondary Schools.

Romulus (found at Pompeii, now in the Museum in Naples):

ROMVLVS . MARTIS  
FILIVS . VRBEM . ROMAM  
CONDIDIT . ET . REGNAVIT . ANNOS  
DVODEQVADRAGINTA . ISQVE  
PRIMVS . DVX . DVCE . HOSTIVM  
ACRONE . REGE . CAENINENSIVM  
INTERFECTO . SPOLIA . OPIMA  
IOVI . FERETRIO . CONSECRAVIT

<sup>6</sup>See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12:133-134.

RECEPTVSQVE . INDEORVM  
NVMERVM . QVIRINVS  
APPELLATVS . EST

Ap. Claudius Caecus (found at Arretium, now in Florence):

APPIVS . CLAVDIVS  
C . F . CAECVS

CENSOR . COS . BIS . DICT . INTERREX . III  
PR . II . AED . CVR . II . Q . TR . MIL . III . COM  
PLVRA . OPPIDA . DE . SAMNITIBVS . CEPIT  
SABINORVM . ET . TUSCORVM . EXERCI  
TVM . FVDIT . PACEM . FIERI . CVM . PYRRHO  
REGE . PROHIBVIT . INCENSURA . VIAM  
APIAM . STRAVIT . ET . AQVAM . IN  
VRBEM . ADDVXIT . AEDEM . BELLONAE  
FECIT

Q. Fabius Maximus (found at Arretium, now in Florence):

q . fabius  
Q . F . MAXIMVS

DICTATOR . BIS . COS . V . CEN  
SOR . INTERREX . II . AED . CVR  
Q . II . TR . MIL . II . PONTIFEX . AVGV  
PRIMO . CONSVLATV . LIVRES . SVBE  
GIT . EX . IIS . TRIVMPHAVIT . TERTIO . ET  
QVARTO . HANNIBALEM . COMPLVRI  
BVS . VICTORIS<sup>7</sup> . FEROCES . SVBSEQUEN  
DO . COERCIVIT . DICTATOR . MAGISTRO  
EQUITVM . MINVCIO . QVOIVS<sup>8</sup> . POPV  
LVS . IMPERIVM . CVM . DICTATORIS  
IMPERIO . AEQVAVERAT . ET . EXERCITVI  
PROFLIGATO . SVBVENIT . ET . EO . NOMI  
NE . AB . EXERCITV . MINVCIANO . PA  
TER . APPELLATVS . EST . CONSVL . QVIN  
TVM . TARENTVM . CEPIT . TRIVMPHA  
VIT . DVX . AETATIS . SVAE . CAVTISSI  
MVS . ET . RE<sup>9</sup> . MILITARIS . PERITISSIMVS  
HABITVS . EST . PRINCEPS . IN . SENATVM  
DVORVS . LVSTRIS . LECTVS . EST

C. Marius (at Arretium):

C . MARIVS . C . F

COS . VII . PR . TR . PL . Q . AUG . TR . MILITVM  
EXTRA . SORTEM . BELLVM . CVM . IVGVRTA  
REGE . NVMDIAE . COS . GESSIT . EVM . CEPIT  
ET . TRIVMPHANS . IN . SECUNDO . CONSVLATV  
ANTE . CVRRVM . SVVM . DVCI . IVSSIT  
TERTIVM . CONSVL . ABSENS<sup>10</sup> . CREATVS . EST  
III . COS . TEVTONORVM . EXERCITVM  
DELEVIT . V . COS . CIMBROS . FVDIT<sup>11</sup> . EX  
IIS<sup>12</sup> . ET . TEVTONIS . ITERVM . TRIVMPHAVIT  
REM . PVB . TVRBATAM . SEDITIONIBVS . TR . PL  
ET . PRAETOR . QVI<sup>13</sup> . ARMATI . CAPITOLIVM  
OCCIPAVERVNT . VI . COS . VINDICAVIT  
POST . LXX . ANNVM . PATRIA . PER . ARMA  
CIVILIA . EXPVLSVS . ARMIS . RESTITVTVS  
VII . COS . FACTVS . EST . DE . MANVBIIS  
CIMBRIC . ET . TEVTON . AEDEM . HONORI  
ET . VIRTVTI . VICTOR . FECIT . VESTE  
TRIVMPHALI . CALCEIS . PATRICIIS  
IN . SENATVM . VENIT

L. Licinius Lucullus (at Arretium):

L . LICINIVS . L . F  
LVCVLLVS

COS . PR . AED . CVR . Q  
TR . MILITVM . AVG

TRIVMPHAVIT . DE . REGE . PONTI . MITHRIDATE

<sup>7</sup> = victorius. <sup>8</sup> = cuius. <sup>9</sup> = rei.  
<sup>10,12</sup> The Roman original had *apsens*, *fugavit*, *ieis*, *quei*.

ET . DE . REGE . ARMENIAE . TIGRANE . MAGNIS  
VTRIVSQVE . REGIS . COPIIS . CONPLVRIBUS . PRO  
ELIS . TERRA . MARIQVE . SVPERATIS . CONLE  
GAM . SVVM . PVLVVM . A . REGE . MITHRIDATE  
CVM . SE . IS . CALCHADONA . CONTVLISSET  
OPSIDIONE . LIBERAVIT

In Aeneid 6.75 ff. Vergil describes Anchises as pointing out to his son Aeneas in the underworld the shades of the great Roman leaders still to come to the light of the upper world, and setting forth briefly the story of the deeds which they are still to accomplish. In swift vision Aeneas is made to see, first, his immediate successors, the Alban Kings, then the Roman kings, beginning with Romulus, and after them the military heroes of the early Republic, from Brutus to the time of the Gracchi, the well-known 'Heldenschau', as the passage has been called. If we arrange these heroes in the order of the Vergilian textus receptus and group them according to certain indications in the language, they will appear as follows:

- |             |   |     |   |                              |
|-------------|---|-----|---|------------------------------|
| Alban Kings | { | 752 | Dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam<br>conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonan-<br>tem,<br>et tumultum capit, unde omnis longo ordine<br>posset<br>adversos legere et venientum discere voltus. | [Aeneas]                     |
|             |   | 760 | ille, vides   | [Silvius, Albanum nomen]     |
|             |   | 767 | proximus ille   | [Procas]                     |
|             |   | 768 |   | [Capys]                      |
| Alban Kings | { | 769 |   | [Numitor]                    |
|             |   | 769 |   | [Silvius Aeneas]             |
|             |   | 771 | qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, vires!<br>atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.   |                              |
|             |   | 777 | quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet<br>Romulus . . . . .<br>. . . . . viden ut geminae stant vertice cristae?  | [Romulus]                    |
| Augustus    | { | 788 | huc geminas nunc flecte acies.  |                              |
|             |   | 791 | hic vir, hic est  | [Augustus Caesar]            |
|             |   | 801 | nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit.  |                              |
|             |   | 804 | nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis<br>Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.  |                              |
| Roman Kings | { | 808 | quis procul ille ramis insignis olivae<br>sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta<br>regis Romani.   | [Numa]                       |
|             |   | 812 | Cui deinde subibit  | [Tullus]                     |
|             |   | 815 | Quem iuxta sequitur   | [Ancus]                      |
|             |   | 817 | vis et Tarquinius reges <videre>  |                              |
| Roman Kings | { |     |   | [Tarquinius Priscus]         |
|             |   |     |   | [Servius Tullius]            |
|             |   |     |   | [Tarquinius Superbus]        |
|             |   | 818 | ultoris Bruti fascesque . . . receptos  | [Brutus]                     |
| Roman Kings | { | 824 | quin Decios Drusosque procul <aspice>   |                              |
|             |   |     |   | [Publius Decius Mus]         |
|             |   |     |   | [Son of the above]           |
|             |   |     |   | [M. Drusus Livius Salinator] |
| Roman Kings | { | 825 |   | [Torquatus]                  |
|             |   |     | et referentem signa   | [Camillus]                   |
|             |   | 826 | illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis   |                              |
|             |   | 830 | socer   | [C. Julius Caesar]           |
| Roman Kings | { | 831 | gener   | [Cn. Pompeius]               |

- 836 ille, triumphata . . . Corintho  
[L. Mummius]  
838-840 ille . . . ultus avos  
[L. Aemilius Paulus]  
841 quis te . . . tacitum . . . relinquat?  
[M. Porcius Cato]  
aut te . . . [A. Cornelius Cossus]<sup>14</sup>  
842 quis < . . . tacitum . . . relinquat >  
Gracchi genus [Ti. Sempronius Gracchus]<sup>15</sup>  
[Tiberius and Gaius, Tribunes]  
aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,  
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae  
[P. Cornelius Scipio, Maior]  
[P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, Minor]  
844 vel te, Serrane  
[probably, L. Quintius Cincinnatus]  
845 quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?  
[perhaps, K. Fabius Vibulanus]  
tu Maximus ille es  
[Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator]  
846 unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

After this well-known verse from Ennius, notice the manner in which Vergil closes the catalogue (compare this with the passage from Horace with which this paper begins):

- 847 excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore  
voltus.

He then adds the description of the two Marcelli:

- 855 aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis  
ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.  
[M. Claudius Marcellus]<sup>16</sup>  
860 [the Younger Marcellus]<sup>17</sup>

The whole spirit of this 'Heldenschau' is strongly reminiscent of the statues in the Forum Augustum, and from what we know of Vergil's method of work in other cases (the description of War, for instance), the suggestion which has been put forward may not be too bold or over fanciful, that the Forum may have suggested the idea to Vergil (of course in connection with the Teichoskopia of Iliad 3), or may have influenced to a certain extent the selection and the grouping of the heroes. From the fact that the treatment of the elder Marcellus is delayed beyond the close of the catalogue proper in order to accompany that of the younger Marcellus and from other dates suggested by the activities of Augustus, it is right to assume that this portion of Book 6 was composed after B.C. 23, some parts of it even as late as B.C. 20. Hence it is quite possible that Vergil was acquainted either with the plans of Augustus for his Forum, which must have been well advanced by that time, or, if we are right in assuming that the *porticus* were the earliest completed portion, perhaps with the statues themselves and their *elogia*. I have thought that the peculiar order of the 'Heldenschau' may not be due to literary sources alone, but was influenced by the appearance of the Forum and the grouping of the statues in the *exedrae*. It is at any rate a curious fact, that the

group of the Alban Kings, which must have begun with Aeneas himself, should in Vergil include Romulus before the break occurs for the description of Augustus (the second Romulus) and thus equal the number seven, the number of niches in either side of the central niche of either *exedra*, and in like manner the second group, that of the Roman Kings, beginning in Vergil's account, after the Augustus break, with Numa (*procul ille*), should also include seven names, enough for another section of the *exedra*, going as far as Brutus, a pendant to Romulus in the first group, before we again reach the indication of another group (*quin . . . procul*). It is also evident that Vergil groups many of the heroes in pairs, often with alliteration or balanced opening verses: the Decii; the Drusi; Torquatus and Camillus; Mummius and Paulus; Cato and Cossus; Fabricius and Serranus. It is possible to think of these pairs either as occupying the niches in pairs along the back wall next to the Temple, or as facing each other in the *porticus* across the Forum. Perhaps the two breaks in the narrative which have troubled many editors, that of Augustus (more easily explainable), and that of Julius Caesar and Pompey (difficult to account for), may be due to this grouping of the statues in the Forum. In putting forward such suggestions as the above, it is by no means necessary to assume that Vergil follows exactly the order and the grouping of the statues (such literalness is not in his style), but, if the whole account be read carefully with such a possibility in view, many small points of the language and the description seem at least to make the assumption plausible. I have indicated above by quotations some of the most important points, the *spolia opima*, *referentem signa*, *triumphata Corintho*, *ultus avos*, etc. Authority has not been found either on coins or in writers for the *geminae cristae* of Mars<sup>18</sup>; can the statue of Romulus have exhibited this special *insigne*? We do not otherwise learn that Ancus rejoiced in the popular favor (818); can that have been mentioned in the inscription? Our earliest source for the statement that Camillus recovered the insignia lost to the Gauls is Eutropius; did his *elogium* state that fact? Notice also the catalogue of names of the towns which the Prisci Latini hold (778):

hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,  
hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,  
Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque.

These names, some of them in an archaic form, may well have been taken from the inscriptions. By comparing the fragments in Rome with the copies in Arretium we learn that archaic forms in the originals were changed in the copies to the more customary. And, lastly, notice, as I said above, the way in which the contrast of Greek skill and art as exhibited in the statues is made the introductory note of the comparison of the Greek with the Roman genius, as if the poet would say:

'it is from statues such as these that you can understand the Greek character, but the warriors themselves and their position in front of the Temple of Mars should

<sup>14</sup>He gained the *spolia opima* B.C. 426.

<sup>15</sup>The father of the Tribunes. He celebrated a triumph in B.C.

178.

<sup>16</sup>He won the third *spolia opima* B.C. 222.

<sup>17</sup>The nephew (and adopted son) of Augustus, who died B.C. 23.

<sup>18</sup>See Norden, *Aeneid* VI, page 319.

remind the Roman of the sources of his peculiar power and the direction of his duties toward the world' (851-853):

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
(haec tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

We are now ready to return to Horace's Ode.

'Public inscriptions on marble statues do not proclaim more clearly the praises of great leaders than do the Muses'.

Had Horace seen the statues and read the *elogia* of Rome's great military leaders?<sup>19</sup> It is likely, more likely, so far as dates go, in his case than in Vergil's. To make reference by Vergil to the statues possible, we must assume their completion before B.C. 20; for Horace we can set a later limit. The Ode belongs to Carmina 4, the latest of the poet's works to be published, with the possible exception of Epistles 2; at any rate it was published after B.C. 17, and before his death in B.C. 8. The statement made in C. I. L. 1<sup>2</sup>, page 186, is probably right: quae scripsit poeta paulo antequam diem obiret aede nondum dedicato. And it is also likely that the true explanation and consequently the correct interpretation of the poem depend upon the same fact of Horace's acquaintance with these statues. We know that the series included Q. Fabius Maximus and L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, brother to Africanus Maior; it is hardly possible that the two great Africanus were absent. Assuming, then, that Horace was acquainted with these statues (not one single statue, as Elter<sup>20</sup> first suggested) and is using them as well-known instances to make good his point, the debated verses gain some such meaning as this:

'Not inscribed marble statues <such as those in the Forum Augustum> by means of which the breath of life returns to warriors after death, not <inscribed *elogia* such as> CELERES FUGAE RELECTAEQUE RETRORSUM HANNIBALIS MINAE, or <to quote another example> INCENDIA KARTHAGINIS INPIAE, from statues such as those of a man (= *cius*) QUI DOMITA NOMEN AB AFRICA LUCRATUS REDIIT, set forth praises more clearly than does the Calabrian Muse of a poet such as Ennius'.

Naturally the poet is not trying to quote the exact words of the *elogia* (the meter would prevent that); he is seeking to give only the general purport of brief selections from the two statues to the Africanus. The fact that INCENDIA KARTHAGINIS INPIAE neglects the caesura may be intended by Horace as a subtle criticism of the style in which the *tituli* were composed, or he may not have felt at liberty to rearrange a particularly well-

<sup>19</sup>I note now, with great interest, the suggestion made by Professor Knapp, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.134-135 (March 3, 1919), that, in Carmina 1.12, in giving the muster roll of the heroes of Rome, Horace "had in mind Augustus's project of setting up in the Forum Augusti the statues of the heroes of Rome". That suggestion, made independently of the present paper and prior to it, at once confirms this paper and is confirmed by it.

<sup>20</sup>See Elter, in Donarem pateras (Bonn, 1908); also Heinze, Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 28 (1908), 1341.

known phrase from the *elogium* of the younger Scipio. If to *eius* (17) be given something of the meaning of *talis viri* (as in Vollmer's footnote), the succeeding quotation may be assumed to fit either statue, and the reference to the Muse of Ennius is in contrast not to the deeds of either man, but to the means chosen to proclaim such deeds. It is also probable that the two (possibly three) Scipios formed a closely related group, which fact, as I noticed before, may have led Vergil to combine the names under the patronymic *Scipiadae*.

The reference to Romulus which follows in the Ode, *Iliae Mavortisque puer*, strengthens the supposition that Horace had in mind the statues in this Forum, and the change from ROMULUS MARTIS FILIUS to *Iliae Mavortisque puer* may illustrate his working method. The further references to Aeacus, Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and Liber, with which the Ode ends, are probably only the stock examples of deification (*caelo Musa beat*), but it is curious that Vergil also chooses Hercules and Liber as examples when he is dwelling on the wide sweep of Augustus's power (6.861); and we have seen from Pliny (N. H. 35.93) that Apelles's painting of Victory with Alexander the Great included the figures of Castor and Pollux and that it too had a place in the most frequented part of the Forum Augustum.

STEPHEN A. HURLBUT.

#### THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF LIBERAL STUDIES

Probably no one will question that in the fight for Latin much more might be accomplished, if the interest and sympathy of the teachers in the Grades could be enlisted. With this in mind, the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies, through the generous cooperation of Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel, was able on February 26, at the Philadelphia Normal School, to offer to the Public School teachers of the city a lecture entitled Glimpses of Roman History for the Grade Teacher. The lecture was illustrated with more than a hundred and fifty carefully chosen lantern slides.

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Professor McDaniel's scholarly development of his subject combined with a peculiar felicitousness of phrase won the enthusiastic appreciation of the large audience that crowded the auditorium. There seems to be little doubt that in the success of this meeting the Society for the Promotion of Liberal Studies (and perhaps other organizations with similar aims) may find sufficient encouragement for further effort in this kind of propaganda.

JESSIE E. ALLEN,  
Chairman of the Committee on Propaganda.

## LINGVAE ANTIQVAE NVM MORIBVNDAE?

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